

1967

## **Situational Factors in Emitted Reinforcing Behavior**

Jo Ellen Kirssin

*College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences*

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SITUATIONAL FACTORS IN EMITTED REINFORCING BEHAVIOR

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A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Psychology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

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In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

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By

Jo Ellen Kirssin

1967

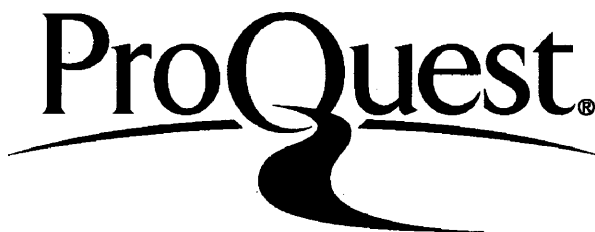
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APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

Jo Ellen Kirsin  
Author

Approved, May 1967

Virgil V. McKenna  
Virgil V. McKenna, Ph.D.

John A. McConnell  
John A. McConnell, Ph.D.

Glenn D. Shean  
Glenn D. Shean, Ph.D.

Alexander Kallos  
Alexander Kallos, Ph.D.

Stanley B. Williams  
Stanley B. Williams, Ph.D.  
Chairman  
Department of Psychology

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## ABSTRACT

A listening task devised by Weiss (1965b, 1966) was used in three studies investigating the reinforcing behavior emitted by subjects asked to role-play the listener to two taperecorded speakers. The purpose of Experiment I was to investigate the effects of two sets of instructions, the standard (Weiss, 1965b, 1966) instructions requesting the listener to "maintain rapport" with the speaker and a control set instructing S to "act as you would in any everyday conversation". Although there was no overall difference in the number of responses emitted to the two sets of instructions, a significant interaction between instructions and sex of listeners was obtained, with female Ss emitting more responses than males in the "conversation" condition and the opposite occurring to the "rapport" instructions.

Because the interaction between instructional set and listener sex had interesting implications for future research, it was decided to attempt to replicate the effect using a different, but presumably analogous, subject sample. Not only was the interactional effect not replicated in Experiment II, but the overall level of responding was significantly higher than in Exp. I. This difference in level and patterning of responses was attributed to unknown situational factors. Results from Exp. I that were replicated in Exp. II, however, were the high, positive correlations between the number of responses emitted to each of the two speakers. These correlations attest to the individual listener's consistency in responding to two speakers who differ in sex and in the style and content of their speech and provide evidence for the reliability of the listening task.

An additional study retested some of the Ss who had participated in either Exp. I or II. In Experiment III Ss responded to only one of the speakers, in an attempt to investigate the stability of responding to this task. High, positive correlations were obtained between number of responses emitted to the speaker in the original and retest situations, yielding additional evidence of task reliability.

Experiment III included a questionnaire attempting to learn what the subjects were using as a basis for deciding when and where to respond to the speaker and to determine whether different bases for responding were elicited by the two sets of instructions. Difficulties occurred in interpreting these questionnaires, however. Problems involved with a task which has been demonstrated to elicit reliable individual performance, but for which the stimulus remains to be specified were discussed in terms of the need for isolating the effects of situational variables before proceeding to validate the task.

## **SITUATIONAL FACTORS IN EMITTED REINFORCING BEHAVIOR**

## INTRODUCTION

The importance and pervasiveness of social reinforcement as a general phenomenon is attested to by the number and variety of studies in which social reinforcement is a crucial concept. Such diverse research areas as social learning and imitation (e.g., Bandura & Walters, 1963), interviewing (e.g., Matarazzo, 1962), psychotherapy (e.g., Strupp, 1962), and verbal conditioning (e.g., Verplanck, 1955) are tied together by their basic concern with behavior modification in interpersonal interactions and their mutual dependence on socially reinforcing cues as the instrumentality of behavioral change.

These studies are characterized by their focus on behavior changes within the particular situation under investigation. The most directly relevant research in psychotherapy, for example, has been concerned with rapport and has measured various aspects of the therapist-patient relationship, such as the effects of client likability (Stoler, 1963) and the contribution of the therapist to the treatment process (Strupp, 1962). Because these studies have been made within a psychotherapy context, they have not isolated the properties of socially reinforcing cues themselves as being relevant variables for study. The establishment and maintenance of rapport, however, are assumed to be dependent on the effectiveness of these cues.

In studies of verbal conditioning (for reviews of this literature, see Greenspoon, 1962; Krasner, 1958, 1963; Williams, 1964), the typical

situation involves the manipulation of the subject's pre-existing verbal habits through selective reinforcement administered by the experimenter. With reference to the various cues used as reinforcers in these studies (for a list of classes of reinforcing stimuli, see Krasner, 1962, pp. 71-72), Krasner (1958) has pointed out that, "One is controlling behavior with the simplest and yet most complex and subtle of behavior cues. Perhaps these studies are getting at nothing more than what everybody knows--people control and manipulate each other by word, gesture, smile" (p. 165).

Weiss (1965 b, 1965 c, 1966) has made the parallel observation that social reinforcement can be used so effectively in laboratory experiments and in therapy settings only because it is so effective in extra-laboratory social interactions. In other words, because social reinforcement occurs as an aspect of nearly all interpersonal relationships, experimental subjects have had extensive experience in learning what it means to have someone, in this case an experimenter, looking at them, smiling, and nodding his head. Despite the obvious importance of these cues, however, investigators have generally been content to utilize this class of behavior as an instrument for studying a wide range of problems, without showing particular concern over their lack of understanding of the development and sustained effectiveness of the socially reinforcing properties of these cues.

Several notable exceptions to the preceding generalization are evident in the experimental literature. The recent work of Jones (1964) and his associates (Jones, Jones, & Gergen, 1963) has been concerned with ingratiation tactics, which are defined as the many ways one person may seek the positive response or support of another. These include the giving of compliments, the selective presentation of

appealing self-attributes, and instances of agreement, conformity, or imitation (Jones, et al., 1963). Viewing ingratiation as interpersonal behavior that "is in some sense strategically oriented toward the elicitation or maintenance of attraction" (Jones, 1964, p. 201; underlining added), Jones has studied ingratiating behavior in numerous experimental contexts and has attempted to relate ingratiation to the underlying processes of motivation, perception and affective communication.

Davitz (1964) has also been very much interested in the variables relevant to affective communication. In the process of training therapists, Davitz became aware of the lack of empirical means for defining the clinical concept of "emotional sensitivity" which he was attempting to convey to prospective therapists. To respond with "sensitivity, empathy, and understanding" requires an understanding of how people communicate emotional meaning, and Davitz and his collaborators have investigated numerous aspects of both the expression of emotion and sensitivity to such expression.

Supplementing these extensive research programs are several more circumscribed studies of reinforcing behavior. In one of these, Exline, Gray, and Schuette (1965) have investigated the determinants of mutual glances, a very specific type of reinforcing cue, in dyadic interactions. Not only were mutual glances between the subject and experimenter found to occur more frequently during laboratory interview sessions involving innocuous, rather than personal, content, but sex differences in the organization of glancing behavior were also demonstrated (Exline, et al., 1965). Kanfer (1964) was interested in still another aspect of communication in interpersonal situations, the

effects of varying ratios of reinforcement on the subject's tendency to act as either a speaker or a listener in a dyadic relationship.

A quite different experimental approach to the same basic questions concerning affective communication and social reinforcement in interpersonal interactions has been presented in Weiss's (1965b, 1965c, 1966) research into reinforcing behavior per se. Rather than focusing on changing the subject's behavior through the application of reinforcement in the experimental setting, Weiss has devised a situation wherein the characteristics of subjects as reinforcers of other people may be observed. In everyday situations people emit responses to each other which are quite visible to observers of an interaction and which can be labeled as attempts to communicate accord, agreement, or understanding. Viewing these socially reinforcing responses as a form of emitted behavior, Weiss has asked how people signal each other of the status of their interaction and has investigated some of the characteristics of these emitted reinforcing responses.

Weiss's technique for obtaining samples of emitted reinforcing behavior has used a speaker-listener context in which subjects are asked to role-play the listener to pre-recorded speakers. Their task as listeners is to "maintain rapport" with the speaker by trying to make it easy for the speaker to talk to them. "This instructional set assumes that the verbal community can define appropriate rapport behavior, and that individuals are consistent in this behavior" (Weiss, 1965b, p. 2). The speakers are pre-recorded to control for possible speaker-listener conditioning, and the listener receives no feedback as he would in an actual conversation. With only these slight departures from a naturalistic situation and with the added advantages of objective measurement

and experimental control, this procedure samples what people do when they are asked to play a role which is assumed to be not unlike a role they play in response to self-instructions in everyday life.

Within this general framework, a variety of subject samples, ranging from college students to psychiatric patients and staff, have listened to pre-recorded speakers talk candidly about themselves and their reactions to certain events as if they were speaking to only one listener. (A more detailed description of the speaker roles has been presented in Weiss, 1966.) In the standard procedure for recording emitted reinforcing behavior, each listener is instructed to press a silent button, held concealed in his hand, whenever he would do or say something to maintain rapport with the speaker; i.e., all forms of reinforcing responses, gestures, "mm-hmm's", etc., were translated into button presses, with each listener choosing what to respond to and how frequently to respond on the basis of his interpretation of "maintain rapport". These responses, however, were at no time specifically referred to as reinforcements. Both the number of responses emitted by each listener and also the specific speech events he chose to reinforce were thereby recorded. Variations of this technique have included having individual listeners actually respond vocally to what they were led to believe was another person in an adjacent room; informing individual listeners that the speaker was taped, but enabling them to stop the tape and "talk" to the speaker, and eliminating button-pressing by instructing subjects to make slash marks through the type-script of the speaker tape to indicate where they would respond. All these procedures have led to similar results and have been accepted by Weiss as analogous.

Evidence for the consistency of individuals in terms of the frequency with which they emit reinforcements to various speakers has been provided in Weiss's (1965b) summary of his research to that date. Correlation of the total number of responses emitted by each listener to each of two speaker tapes, computed separately for males and females within each subject sample, has shown both male and female listeners to be highly consistent in number of responses emitted. These high, positive correlations ( $r$ 's from .82 to .96) have resulted whether or not speaker and sex of speaker were held constant, and, in fact, whether or not word content was intelligible (as demonstrated by one group which heard the tapes played through low-pass filters which made word content unintelligible but did not markedly alter phrasing and tempo). Furthermore, psychiatric patients, not usually models of consistency, have functioned much like the non-patient samples. It appears that an individual's reinforcing frequency is quite stable and may well be characteristic of him. This idea is also supported by the wide range of individual differences in number of reinforcements emitted (e.g., in one subject sample, listeners emitted from 1 to 156 responses in about twenty minutes of listening).

Given this kind of stability, it seems reasonable to assume that individual differences in emitting reinforcements are readily detectable by others (Weiss, 1965b). Weiss's next question, therefore, concerned how early in his listening behavior a person signals his characteristic output of reinforcement. Using responses during a short initial listening period to predict total output of reinforcements, Weiss (1965b) has shown predictability to be good for female subjects ( $r$ 's from .79 to .93). For males, predictability has been more variable, especially when the listeners have differed from the speaker in age, sex or social



background ( $r$ 's from .32 to .97). Males have shown consistently more predictability in their responses to the second tape, suggesting that they may require greater habituation to the task than do females.

These correlations attesting to consistency and predictability indicate only that individuals retain their positions in distributions of responding. To show that "maintaining rapport" is under social control, Weiss (1965b) has considered it necessary to demonstrate that independent listeners are responding to the same events in the speech behavior of a speaker. A "popular" was defined as any short interval of speech behavior during which a significantly greater than chance number of subjects responded (Weiss, 1965b). Only those points which meet this criterion of popularity have been considered as indicants of communality.

One way to quantify the degree of social control over emitted responses is to demonstrate agreement from group to group on the specific points defined as populars. Comparing the locations of popular points in various listener groups clearly indicates that "independent listeners show communality in what they select as likely places to emit reinforcements, and that neither particular group membership nor particular speech content reduces the likelihood of finding across-group communalities of popular points" (Weiss, 1965b, p. 6).

Having established that there is extensive social control over what is selected for reinforcement in another's speech, the problem becomes one of looking for determinants of this communality. Weiss (1965b) has determined the number of pauses of varying durations and has shown that the probability of finding a "popular" increases monotonically with pause length. The importance of pause length as a major determinant of reinforcements emitted to a speaker helps explain why the group which

heard the tapes filtered so as to make the content unintelligible showed results so comparable to the other groups. By relying on pause length, which was not distorted, they were able to respond at many of the places that were also popular points for other subject samples.

The somewhat artificial means by which the listener indicates responses in this task makes the question of task validity one of crucial importance. To what extent do the responses emitted to these speaker tapes under the instructional set to "maintain rapport" provide a valid indication of listener-reinforcement as it occurs in everyday life situations? Weiss has reported several attempts to relate emitted reinforcing behavior, as elicited by his task, to other forms of social behavior and to personality characteristics.

Considerable evidence of relationships between birth order and both behavioral and personality measures of affiliative motives (e.g., Becker & Carroll, 1962; Dember, 1964; Schachter, 1964; Warren, 1966) led to Weiss's (1966) hypothesis that "first-born and only children as listeners would be more responsive to a speaker than later-born children because of the former group's sensitivity to affiliative cues" (p. 489). Weiss's listening tasks did not manipulate likability of the speakers nor arouse affiliative motives in the listeners, but the instructions to "maintain rapport" could be interpreted by some listeners as a request to establish contact with the speaker. To the extent that this occurs, first-born and only children would be expected to emit more responses to the speaker in their attempt to establish contact. The predicted relationship between birth order and number of emitted reinforcements was found to be significant ( $\chi^2=3.91$ ,  $p<.05$ ). When the responses of male and female listeners were analyzed separately, however, the

relationship to birth order was significant only for the female listeners, although still in the predicted direction for the males (Weiss, 1966). This outcome is consistent with the results of Schachter (1959) and Dember (1964) which have also indicated that female first-born and only children show the greatest amount of affiliative behavior. The extent to which this demonstrated relationship between birth order and number of emitted reinforcements can be attributed to greater responsiveness to affiliative cues could, perhaps, be more directly assessed by using a projective measure of affiliative motives such as the need for affiliation test devised by Shipley and Veroff (1952) and modified by Dember (1964).

The question has been raised that level of responding to this task may be a function of the listener's need for approval (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964). As measured by the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960), social desirability refers to the need of persons to respond in culturally sanctioned ways. Because scores on the Social Desirability Scale were not related to number of reinforcements emitted, it has been suggested that reinforcements are specific to the instructional set employed and are not an indication of a more general social response-set (Weiss, 1965b).

In another effort to establish the validity of his task, Weiss (1965b) has employed the FIRO-B test (Schutz, 1958), a measure of interpersonal behavior which yields scores for three social orientations--affection, control, and inclusion--and provides an expressed and wanted mode for each. Number of reinforcements was significantly related to the expressed inclusion scale ( $r$ 's from .49 to .53), indicating that listeners who say, in effect, that they want to include

others in their social activities do so by emitting a higher frequency of reinforcements.

Not only has the validity of emitted reinforcing behavior been attested to by its relationships to the above mentioned variables, but number of responses emitted has been used to classify listeners as High, Low or Mixed reinforcers of others, depending on their consistency in responding to the two tapes they heard (Weiss, 1965b). As a preliminary effort toward one of the ultimate aims of Weiss's research program, the study of two-person compatibility, this investigation examined one's rate of reinforcing others as a determinant of the acceptability of reinforcing feedback from others. In other words, can individual differences in preferred rates of being reinforced be inferred from individual differences in rates of reinforcing others?

Subjects who had been classified previously on the basis of their rate of emitting reinforcing responses were later seen individually in a situation in which they served as speakers to two unseen "listeners" (tape recordings of reinforcing comments programmed on a random noncontingent basis; one listener emitted reinforcements at a High-rate, the other at a Low-rate). Ss could hear the responses of only one listener at a time and were free to switch back and forth from one listener to the other. In post-experimental interviews only three of the 21 Ss mentioned the possibility that the listeners were recordings, rather than real people, and all three of these Ss had been classified as Low reinforcers of others.

Significant differences between High- and Low-rate speakers were found in terms of their interview statements about the listeners.

High-rate speakers made significantly more statements in the categories of helpfulness, warmth, likability of the High-rate listener than did Low-rate speakers, while Low-rate speakers made significantly more statements to the effect that the High-rate listener was a source of distraction, unnecessary, and not really interested. The comments made by these SS clearly indicated that one's own rate of emitting reinforcements does influence what one will react to as helpful in another person, with High-reinforcers seeming to require a lot of feedback, but Low-reinforcers looking with suspicion on the "yes-man" (Weiss, 1965b). These results suggest the possibility of matching or mismatching persons in terms of their typical reinforcing frequencies, a notion having numerous and obvious applications to a wide range of interpersonal interactions.

The aforementioned studies have made obvious the potential of Weiss's technique for investigating a large variety of socially reinforcing behaviors. Because all of these studies have used the instructional set to "maintain rapport", however, one may question the extent to which the behavior elicited by this task is a function of the "maintain rapport" instructions. Weiss (1965b) has used this instructional set under the assumption that individuals can define appropriate rapport behavior, but the possibility that the word "rapport" is either not generally well-defined in a college population or that it is perceived ambiguously because of its numerous meanings has not been examined. Before continuing the search for personality or behavioral correlates of the reinforcing behavior elicited by this technique, it would seem necessary to gain a more complete understanding of what this task is measuring and, more specifically, to what extent the responses

elicited are a function of the particular instructional set to "maintain rapport".

The present study represented an attempt to replicate Weiss's results with the "maintain rapport" instructions, while simultaneously investigating the effects on responding of a control set of instructions in which the term "rapport" has been replaced with words more typical of everyday language. In the control instructions, the listener is told to respond to the speaker as he would in an ordinary conversational situation involving only two individuals. If listeners interpret the instruction to "maintain rapport" as requiring a high level of responding in order to communicate this feeling of rapport to the speaker, then it can be hypothesized that a significantly higher number of responses will be emitted to the "rapport" instructions. If, on the other hand, "maintain rapport" suggests to the subject that he should concentrate on listening very closely to what the speaker is saying, rather than actually responding to what he says, it can be predicted that a significantly greater amount of responding will be elicited by the "conversation" instructions.

In view of equally compelling alternative hypotheses concerning the effects of instructional sets, it was predicted that rates of responding would differ when the rapport and conversation conditions were compared. The direction of the difference in rates was not predicted.

## METHOD

Subjects. Sixty-three students, 35 women and 28 men, from an introductory psychology class at the College of William and Mary served as subjects. All Ss were unpaid volunteers serving in partial fulfillment of a class requirement for experimental participation.

Apparatus. Equipment for measuring emitted reinforcing behavior included a tape recorder, two sets of instructions, two previously prepared speaker tapes (Weiss, 1965b, 1966), and exact typescripts of the tapes.

The speaker tapes were pre-recorded monologues in which speakers talked candidly about their likes and dislikes, feelings about events in their lives, interests, plans, etc. (avoiding dramatic or shocking material). Each speaker used his or her characteristic style of speaking, creating a monologue suggestive of a level of intimacy in which he or she was speaking to only one other person, so that subjects could readily adopt their role as a listener in a two-person interaction. The "speakers" used in this study were a senior high school girl in her own role (Girl tape), and a male Stanford junior, in the role of a freshman Stanford student (Boy tape). These specific roles are described in greater detail by Weiss (1966), and copies of the typescripts may be found in Appendix B. The Girl and Boy speakers have produced 12-minute and 10-minute tapes, respectively.

In addition to the standard set of instructions (Weiss, 1965b, 1966) a control set of instructions was used in which the phrase "maintain rapport" was replaced with "act as you would in any everyday conversation". An example of the type of speaker-listener relationship being studied was changed from "interviewing" in the standard instructions to "a discussion between you and your roommate" in the control instructions. There were other slight differences between the two sets of instructions, but these were judged to be minimal, relative to the distinctions already noted (see Appendix A for copies of these instructions).

Procedure. Ss were tested as a group in a session which lasted about 40 minutes. Both instructional sets were used during the test session, with Ss being assigned to instructions on a random basis. This was accomplished by typing the two sets of instructions so that their spacing and over-all appearance were as identical as possible. A test booklet was then prepared for each S by attaching an instruction sheet to typescripts of the two speaker-tapes. Half of the test booklets had the standard, "rapport" instructions and the other half had the control, "conversation" instructions. Instructions were alternated as test booklets were placed face-down on every other seat in the experimental room. At least one vacant seat separated each S from the Ss closest to him in order to promote independent responding and to prevent the S from being aware that not all Ss had the same instructions.

Both sets of instructions were used within a single testing session to control for situational variables, and instructions were alternated from S to S to control for possible differential effects



of location in the experimental room and for distance from the tape recorder speakers to the Ss. After all test booklets had been distributed and the tape recorder readied for operation, the Ss were admitted to the experimental room and were free to occupy any seat having a test booklet on it, thereby assuring the random assignment of Ss to instructions. In summary, both sets of instructions were used during the testing session, with individual Ss responding to both speakers within the context of a single instructional set.

The prepared instruction sheet requested Ss to role-play the listener to the tape-recorded speakers, within the context of either the "rapport" or "conversation" instructions. Listeners were instructed to imagine that the speaker was alone with them and was speaking for their benefit. S's task as a listener was to try to make it easy for the person to speak to him through the use of whatever means he characteristically employs with other people, including utterances, gestures, etc. Whenever the listener wished to make a response, he was instructed to make a slash mark at exactly the corresponding point in the typescript.

Listeners responded first to the Girl tape and secondly to the Boy.

## RESULTS

The total number of slash marks ("reinforcements") emitted to the Girl and the Boy speakers were tabulated separately. High, positive product-moment correlations, all of which were significant at  $p < .01$ , were obtained between number of reinforcements emitted to both speakers. These  $r$ 's are presented in Table 1.  $S$ s were very consistent in the number of reinforcements given to each speaker, even though the speakers differed in sex and in the style and content of their speech. Large individual differences in amount of reinforcing behavior emitted was attested to by the range of 9 to 147 in total number of responses made during the listening session.

Each listener's responses to each speaker were calculated on a per minute basis to equate for the differing lengths of the tapes. The mean number of responses per minute was determined for each set of instructions, in terms of both the sex of the speaker and the sex of the listener (Fig. 1). As is fairly clear in Fig. 1, there was not a significant overall difference between the two instructional conditions for either the Girl ( $t = 0.356$ ) or the Boy ( $t = 0.554$ ) speakers. Further statistical analyses using  $t$  tests, however, showed the male and female  $S$ s within the "conversation" condition to have emitted significantly different numbers of responses to both the Girl ( $t = 2.480$ ,  $p < .02$ ) and the Boy ( $t = 2.151$ ,  $p < .05$ ) speakers, with the female  $S$ s emitting the greater number of responses to each tape. This relationship was reversed under the "rapport" condition, with males emitting a

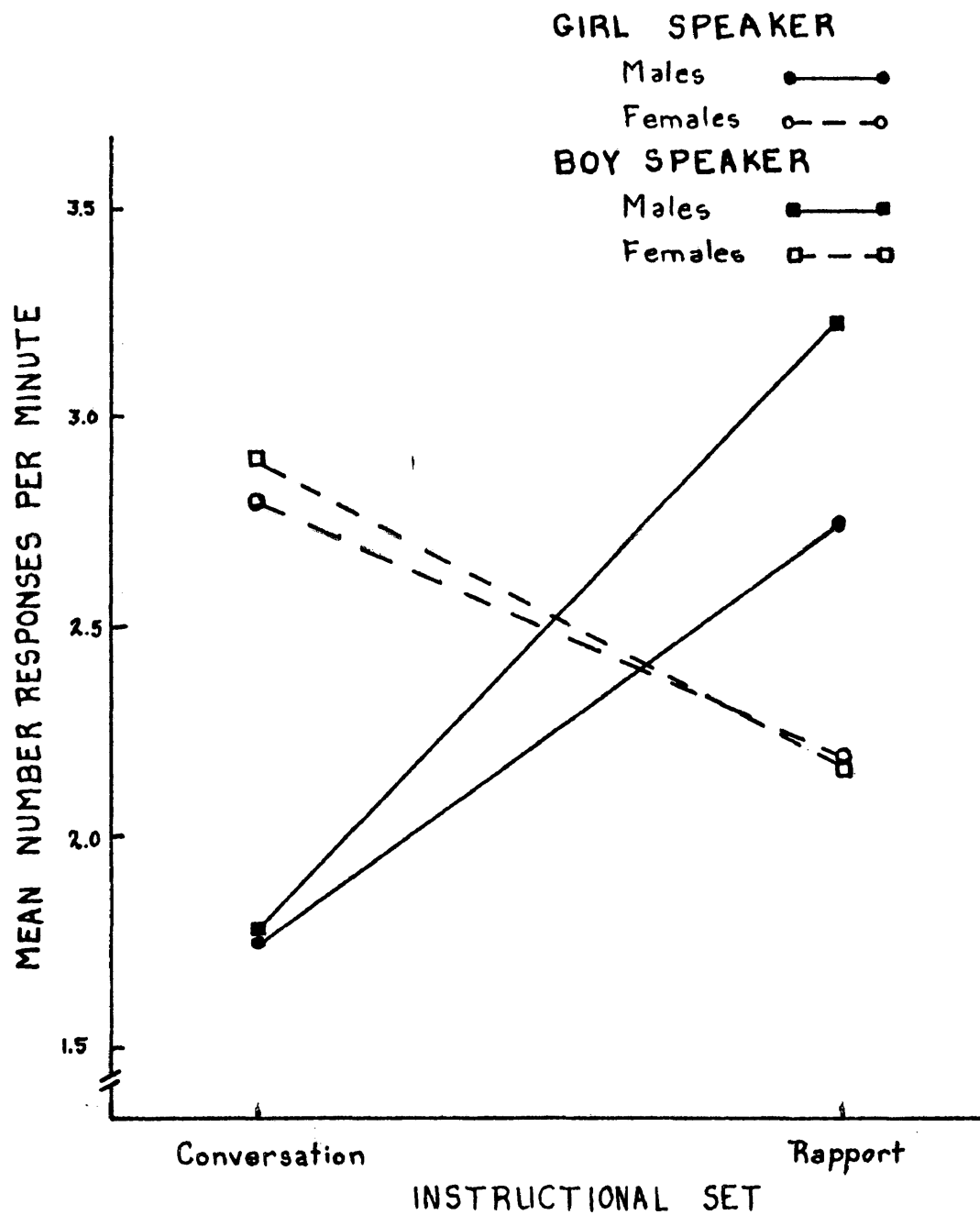
TABLE 1

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN NUMBER OF RESPONSES EMITTED  
TO GIRL AND TO BOY SPEAKERS

Subjects	Instructions	
	Rapport	Conversation
Males	.76* (n=12)	.83 (n=16)
Females	.81 (n=18)	.88 (n=17)
Total	.76 (n=30)	.88 (n=33)

\* all  $r$ 's significant at  $p < .01$

Fig. 1. Mean number of responses per minute as a function of instructional set, sex of speakers, and sex of listeners.



greater number of responses to both speakers. The differences within the "rapport" condition, however, were not significant. A three factor (case II) analysis of variance (Winer, 1962) showed only the interaction between instructions and sex of listeners (Ss) to be significant (Table 2).

TABLE 2

## ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF NUMBER OF EMITTED REINFORCEMENTS

Source of variation	SS	df	MS	F
<u>Between subjects</u>	<u>258.5230</u>	<u>62</u>		
Instructions (I)	1.0236	1	1.0236	
Sex of Listeners (L)	1.4785	1	1.4785	
I x L	27.0631	1	27.0631	6.9739*
Subj. w. groups				
[error (between)]	228.9578	59	3.8806	
<u>Within subjects</u>	<u>31.3292</u>	<u>63</u>		
Sex of Speaker (S)	0.4512	1	0.4512	
I x S	0.1172	1	0.1172	
L x S	0.2464	1	0.2464	
I x L x S	0.5997	1	0.5997	1.1828
S x subj. w. groups				
[error (within)]	29.9147	59	0.5070	

\*  $p < .05$

## DISCUSSION

While the high, positive correlations obtained between number of reinforcements emitted to both speakers were an expected outcome, the differential effects of instructional set interacting with the sex of the listeners had not been predicted nor expected. Only post hoc hypotheses, therefore, can be offered in interpretation of these results. One possible interpretation suggests that the significantly greater responsiveness of the female Ss with the "conversation" instructions supports the commonplace observation that women simply talk more than men. In speculating about the results obtained with the "rapport" instructions, it might be said that both males and females perceive their "conversational" level of responding to be inappropriate to a rapport situation. Females perhaps do more listening to the other person and less actual responding as a result of their interpretation of "maintain rapport", while males may somehow sense that their low, conversational level of responding would be insufficient to either create or maintain a feeling of rapport. Certainly the experimental investigation of this sex difference in interpreting the two sets of instructions would be a logical follow-up to the present experiment.

Rather than attempting at this point to design any experiments to test hypotheses about the interaction of instructional set with the sex of the listener, however, it was decided to repeat Experiment I



in order to determine if the interactional effect would be replicated. This decision was based on two considerations. First, in the course of running Experiment I, the possibility of looking for personality and behavioral correlates of emitted reinforcing behavior had posed itself as a possible course to follow in extending research using this measure of social reinforcement. The outcome of Experiment I, however, demonstrates the necessity for treating both instructional condition and sex of listeners within each condition separately for correlational purposes. Such a division of the listener sample would create four sub-groups with such small ns that significant correlations would be both difficult to obtain and to interpret. Secondly, further interpretational problems would result from a general lack of knowledge as to what the task itself is actually measuring and why this differs as a function of instructions and listener sex.

## EXPERIMENT II

Experiment II represented an attempt to replicate Experiment I. It was predicted that the previously observed interaction between "rapport" versus "conversation" instructions and male versus female listeners would be obtained with a new sample of subjects. A successful replication would both permit the Ss in this experiment to be added to those in Exp. I, creating sub-groups of more favorable size for correlation purposes, and provide evidence that the interactional effect observed in Exp. I is a stable phenomenon, the causative factors of which should be investigated in further studies. Failure to replicate the interaction with a different listener sample, however, would indicate that the interactional effect itself is not the phenomenon that should be investigated. Instead, the problem would become one of looking for factors which lead to inconsistencies in results from sample to sample, or from situation to situation.

### METHOD

Subjects. Forty-four students, 27 men and 17 women, from an introductory psychology class at the College of William and Mary, served as listeners. As in Exp. I, all Ss were unpaid volunteers serving in partial fulfillment of a class requirement for experimental participation. The classes used in Experiments I and II had mutually exclusive memberships and were being taught by different professors. It was assumed, however, that Ss from the two classes represented similar samples from the college student population.

Apparatus and Procedure. These were identical to those used in Experiment I.

## RESULTS

As in Experiment I, high positive product-moment correlations were obtained between the number of responses emitted to the Girl and Boy speakers (Table 3). The demonstration of large individual differences in output of reinforcing behavior was repeated, with the present study showing a range from 15 to 223 in total number of responses emitted to the two speakers.

Mean numbers of responses per minute as a function of instructional set and of the sex of both the speaker and listener are presented in Fig. 2. Comparing these results to those of Exp. I (Fig. 3) demonstrates that not only was the overall level of responding much higher in Exp. II, with the lowest mean number of responses in Exp. II being higher than the highest mean in Exp. I, but the interaction of instructions with the sex of the listeners was clearly not replicated. Statistical analyses using  $t$  tests showed that there was not a significant overall difference between the mean number of responses in the "rapport" versus the "conversation" conditions. This held true for responses to both the Girl and the Boy speakers and for male and female  $Ss$  considered separately, as well as for the total sample. Furthermore, male versus female listeners within each instructional condition did not emit significantly different numbers of responses to either of the two speaker tapes.

TABLE 3  
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN NUMBER OF RESPONSES EMITTED  
TO GIRL AND TO BOY SPEAKERS

Subjects	Instructions	
	Rapport	Conversation
Males	.94* (n=14)	.95 (n=13)
Females	.96 (n=9)	.93 (n=8)
Total	.91 (n=23)	.88 (n=21)

\* all r's significant at  $p < .01$

Fig. 2. Mean number of responses per minute as a function of instructional set, sex of speakers, and sex of listeners (Exp. II).

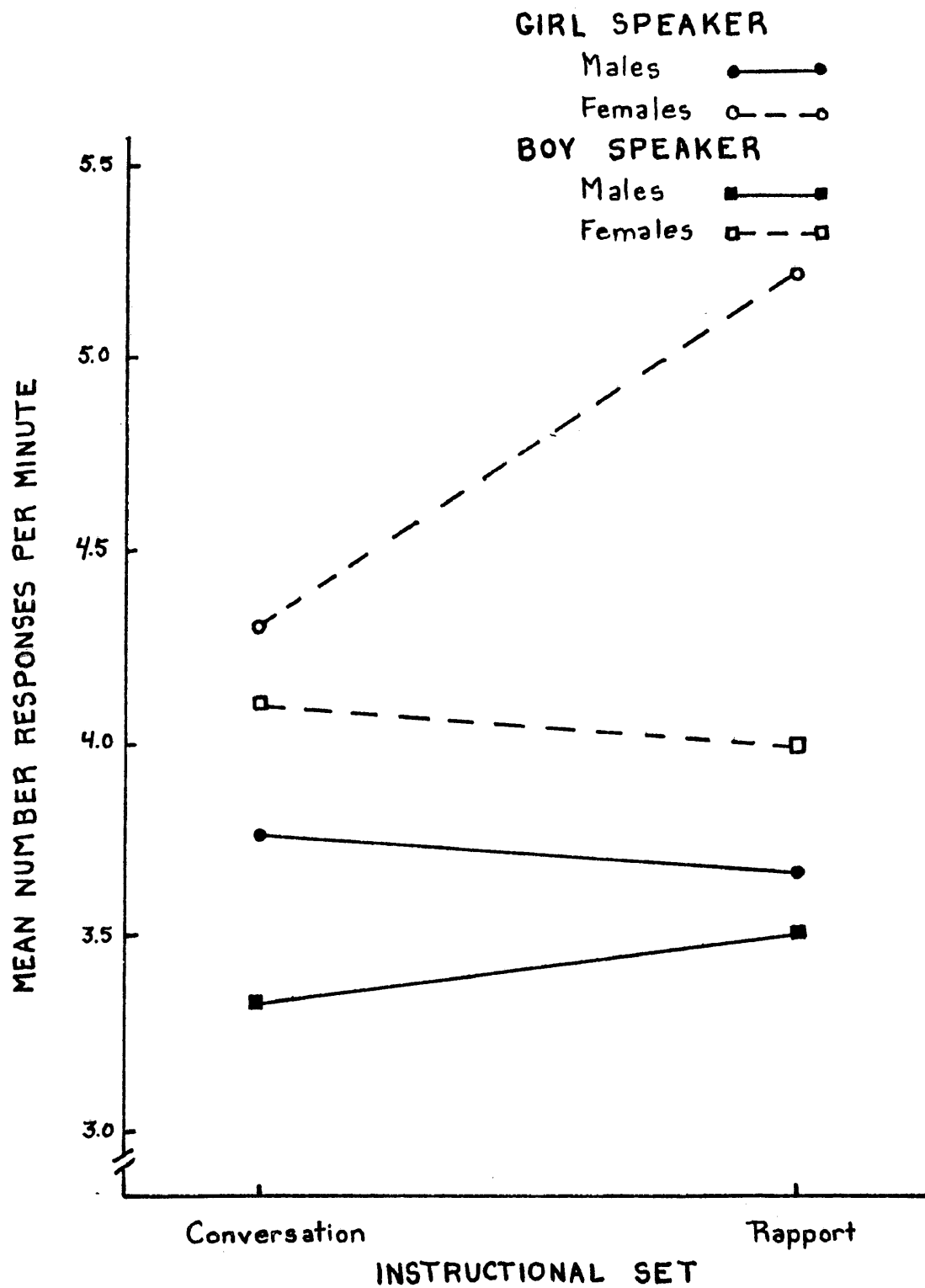
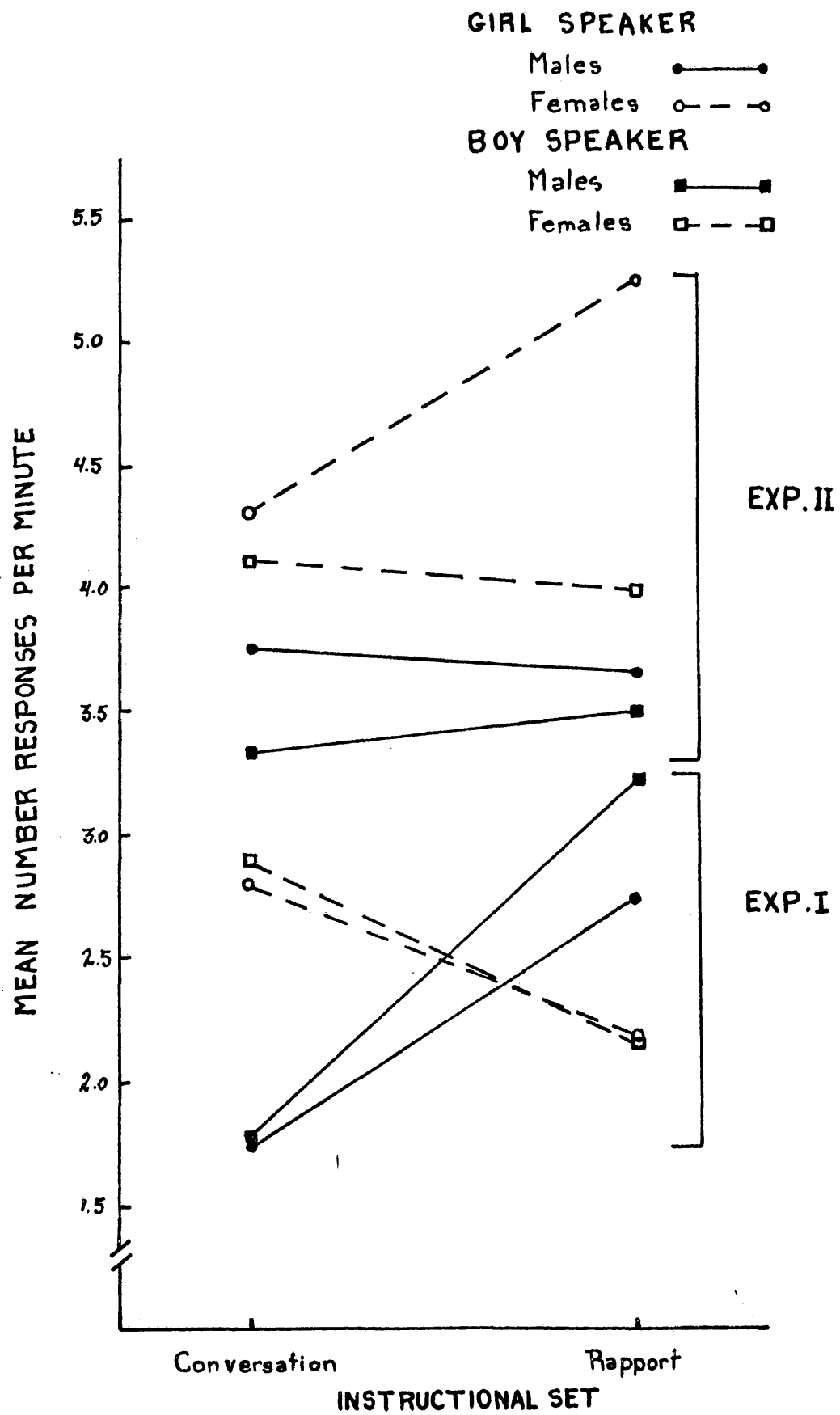


Fig. 3. Mean number of responses per minute as a function of instructional set, sex of speakers, and sex of listeners (Exps. I and II).





## DISCUSSION

Since the interactional effect obtained in Exp. I was not replicated, the problem became one of attempting to determine why two ostensibly identical experimental sessions yielded two quite different sets of results. The same classroom, tape recorder, test booklets, and seating arrangements were used in both experiments, and the same E conducted the two sessions, so all obvious physical aspects of the test situation were identical. The remaining possibilities for explaining these inconsistent results include subject factors and situational factors of a less obvious nature than those previously mentioned.

Two such situational factors which can be postulated, but cannot be isolated in the available data, are differences in the two professors' personalities and teaching techniques and differences in the part of the semester in which testing occurred. The class from which the Ss in Exp. I were drawn was conducted as a lecture session in which students had minimal opportunity to respond during the actual class session. Although they were told of the requirement for experimental participation, Ss were generally aware that this requirement would have only a slight effect on their grades. Ss in Exp. II, on the other hand, were members of a class in which the professor particularly encouraged student responses in class and in which the requirement for experimental participation was strongly stated and enforced. Ss from this class were also tested two months later in the semester than Ss in Exp. I. Perhaps by this time Ss had an increased amount of anxiety about the approaching examination period and end of the semester. This might be interpreted as implying a higher drive level for Ss in Exp. II.

Any one of these factors, or any combination thereof, could have conceivably led to the higher level of responding observed in Exp. II.

It was assumed that subject variables had been controlled by drawing both the listener samples from introductory psychology classes. The differences in results, however, suggest that this may not have been an adequate control. In attempting to understand these differences, the age and college class distributions (Table 4) of each sample were compared, but no apparent differences were found on either of these variables.

Consistency from sample to sample was obtained in terms of the replicated high positive correlations between number of responses emitted to the two speakers. This evidence for consistent individual performance is obtained for both samples, even though these two samples differed in their amounts and patterning of responding. This suggests that individual listeners are consistent in their responding, but the differences from sample to sample make it difficult to infer what the subjects are responding to.

TABLE 4  
COLLEGE CLASS DISTRIBUTIONS OF SUBJECTS  
IN EXPERIMENTS I AND II

Instructional and Sex Variables		College Class				
		Fr.	Soph.	Jr.	Sr.	U*
Exp. I	<u>Conversation</u>					
	Males	-	8	7	1	-
	Females	-	5	7	5	-
	<u>Rapport</u>					
	Males	-	6	5	1	-
	Females	$\frac{-}{0}$	$\frac{8}{27}$	$\frac{9}{28}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{-}{0}$
		(0%)	(43%)	(44%)	(13%)	(0%)
Exp. II	<u>Conversation</u>					
	Males	-	4	2	6	1
	Females	-	6	2	-	-
	<u>Rapport</u>					
	Males	1	3	6	4	-
	Females	$\frac{-}{1}$	$\frac{8}{21}$	$\frac{1}{11}$	$\frac{-}{10}$	$\frac{-}{1}$
		(2%)	(48%)	(25%)	(23%)	(2%)

\* unclassified

### EXPERIMENT III

The decision as to what direction to take in investigating situational factors that might be affecting responding to the listening task was influenced by the unexpected availability for further testing of some of the Ss from Exps. I and II. The high correlations obtained between number of responses to the Girl and Boy speakers in both Exps. I and II prompted the question of whether high correlations would also be obtained in a retest situation. The demonstration of high correlations from one speaker to another and from one test session to another would provide dual evidence for the reliability of the task. It was predicted, therefore, that the number of responses emitted in a retest situation would be highly correlated with the number of responses emitted in the original listening session.

In an effort to determine both the extent to which individual Ss could define rapport conceptually and behaviorally and the degree to which these definitions showed agreement from S to S, it was decided to administer a questionnaire requesting S to describe his task as a subject, to explain the criteria he used in deciding when and where to respond to the speaker, and to define what it means to "maintain rapport" (see Appendix C for a copy of this questionnaire).

### METHOD

Subjects. Fifty-three students from two introductory psychology classes at the College of William and Mary served as subjects. Of these, 14 had not participated in either of the previous experiments, and hence

their data were not considered in the present study. Of the remaining 39 Ss, 19 were males and 20 were females.

The Ss available for this study were students who had not yet completed their class-required experimental participation; therefore, the E was able to retest only a portion of the original samples of Exps. I and II and had no control over the size of the retest sample nor the extent to which it reflected accurately the distributions of the original samples in terms of the sex of Ss and their assignment to instructional conditions.

The retest followed the original listening session by about three months for Ss from Exp. I ( $n=29$ ) and by approximately one month for Ss from Exp. II ( $n=10$ ).

Apparatus and Procedure. These were identical to those described in Exp. I and duplicated in Exp. II, with the following exceptions: (a) only the Boy speaker tape was used in assessing test-retest reliability and (b) after the listening session, a questionnaire (Appendix C) about how S interpreted the instructions and responded to the speaker was distributed to all participants. It was decided that repeated measures on a single speaker would be sufficient, because neither Exp. I nor II showed significant differences between the Girl and Boy speakers. The choice of which of the two to use in the present study was a somewhat arbitrary one, but was decided in favor of the Boy because of the greater equivalence in number of reinforcements emitted to the Boy for the two sets of instructions in Exp. II and because number of responses to the Boy might be considered a more stable measure of responsiveness in the original test as a result of habituation to the task occurring while listening to the Girl speaker.

It was of the utmost importance that each S who was being retested be given the same instructional set that he had in the original test and that this be done subtly so that the Ss were not aware that two sets of instructions were being used. This was accomplished by having the students in each class sign their names on a sheet of paper to indicate that they would be participating in the previously announced experiment, so that the E would have an accurate estimate of how many sets of testing materials to prepare. A test booklet consisting of an instruction sheet and a typescript of the Boy tape was then assembled for each student whose name was on the list. If the student had been an S in Exp. I or II, his name was written on a test booklet containing the same instructions he had had previously. Names of students who were new to the experiment were randomly assigned to either the "conversation" or "rapport" instructions. Test booklets were then arranged in alphabetical order and handed to each S as he entered the experimental room and told E his name.

At the conclusion of the experimental session, after all test materials had been collected, E explained the purpose of the experiment to the Ss and asked if any of them had been aware, or even suspicious, that more than one set of instructions was being used. No S reported any degree of awareness of this fact.

## RESULTS

Correlation of the number of reinforcements emitted to the Boy speaker in the original listening session with number of reinforcements emitted in the retest situation yielded a test-retest reliability coefficient of .82. The retest sample was subdivided according to instructional set and sex of the listeners and test-retest correlations

were computed separately for each of these groups. These correlations are presented in Table 5, which shows all test-retest correlations to be high, positive, and statistically significant, with the exception of the  $r$  obtained for female  $Ss$  who had the "conversation" instructions.

In addition to determining the degree of relationship between the test and retest measures, it was important to investigate any systematic changes in amount of responding from test to retest. It was found that the number of responses emitted in the retest was significantly higher than the number elicited in the original test ( $t=3.74$ ,  $p<.01$ ). As shown in Fig. 4, the increased responsiveness occurred in all subgroups of the subject sample; however, the increase in number of responses was significant for only male  $Ss$  who had the "conversation" instructions ( $t=2.62$ ,  $p<.05$ ) when these subgroups were analyzed separately. The small  $ns$  of these subgroups were a limiting factor in finding statistically significant increases in responsiveness. These small  $ns$  and the large individual differences in answers to the questionnaire items made it impossible to treat the questionnaire data in any statistical fashion.

#### DISCUSSION

The high, positive correlations obtained between number of responses emitted in the original and the retest sessions are interpreted as reliability coefficients which demonstrate the stability of Weiss's listening task over a period of time ranging from one to three months. Supplemented by the previously obtained high correlations between number of reinforcements emitted to two different speakers within a single test session, the present test-retest coefficients provide additional evidence for the reliability of the task. The increased responsiveness that was obtained for both sets of instructions and for

TABLE 5

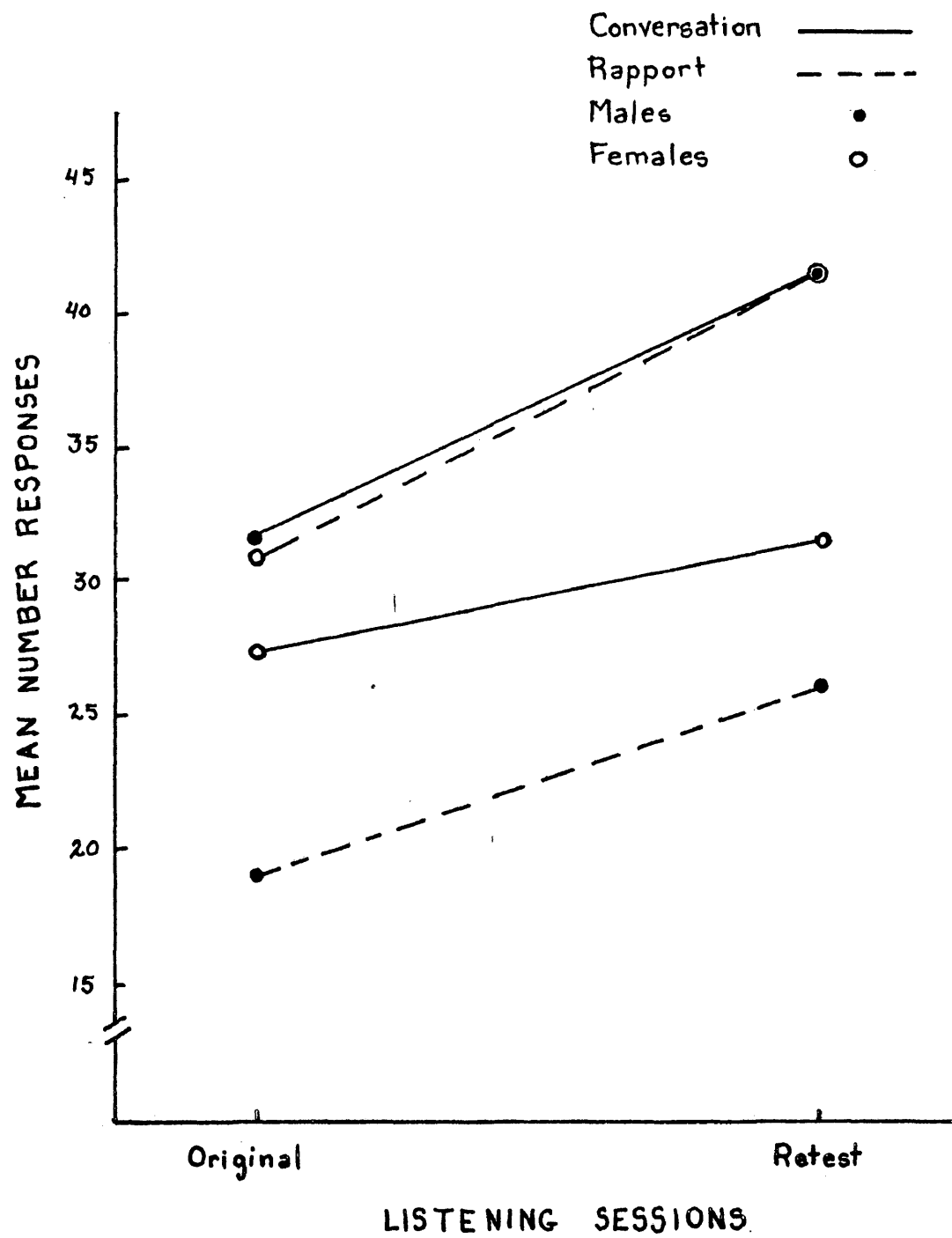
TEST-RETEST CORRELATIONS BETWEEN NUMBER OF RESPONSES  
EMITTED TO THE BOY SPEAKER

Subjects	Instructions		
	Rapport	Conversation	Combined
Males	.90* (n=5)	.91** (n=14)	.92** (n=19)
Females	.81** (n=9)	.35 (n=11)	.67** (n=20)
Total	.83** (n=14)	.82** (n=25)	.82** (n=39)

\*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$



Fig. 4. Mean number of responses emitted to the Boy speaker in the original and retest listening sessions.



both male and female Ss is indicative of a practice effect of some sort. A possible explanation for a practice effect is that in listening to a familiar, rather than novel, monologue, Ss are able to pay closer attention to the details of what the speaker is saying and, therefore, are prompted to respond more frequently.

In attempting to gain information from the responses to the questionnaires, it became obvious that the questions had not been sufficiently unambiguous to elicit easily-rated responses. Nonetheless, both E and another rater made independent ratings of the responses defining what it means to "maintain rapport" and selected those responses which indicated either a very clear understanding of rapport or an obvious lack of understanding of the term. The rationale for selecting the two extremes in ability to define rapport was that any observable differences in responding between Ss who either did or did not understand the term would be greatest for these extreme Ss.

Although there was fairly good agreement between the raters in selecting the Ss at the two extremes in defining rapport, there were no striking differences in responsiveness between these extreme groups. A further difficulty in using the extreme groups of Ss that were selected from the definitional ratings resulted from the fact that the 5 Ss whom both raters agreed upon as showing an unambiguous inability to define "maintain rapport" had all been tested under the "conversation" instructions, thus making it impossible to assess the effects of their lack of understanding of "maintain rapport" on their responding to the listening task. Dividing Ss into subgroups according to sex and instructional condition for purposes of evaluating their responses to the questionnaire was not feasible because of the small ns in the subgroups.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

Weiss's technique for investigating the reinforcing behavior emitted by subjects asked to role-play the listener in a speaker-listener relationship was used in a series of three experiments. The high, positive correlations obtained between the number of responses emitted to the Girl and Boy speakers within a single listening session in both Exps. I and II are clearly consistent with those reported by Weiss (1965b, 1966). The test-retest correlations (Exp. III) yield a measure of stability in responding which extends Weiss's notion of predictability from initial to total responses emitted to a speaker within a single listening session to predictability of output of reinforcement in a listening session one to three months after the original measures of responsiveness were obtained. These measures of consistency, stability, and predictability leave little doubt that Weiss's task elicits reliable and stable measures of individual performance.

The most crucial question that can be asked about this or any other task concerns not its reliability, however, but its validity. The interactional effect obtained in Exp. I and then not replicated in Exp. II suggests that there are situational factors affecting responding to this task. What some of these factors might be has already been discussed (Exp. II), but it is important to point out here that this task will be nearly impossible to validate until these factors are isolated and their effects understood. Given that this

task elicits reliable measures of responsiveness, the stimulus for this responding remains to be specified.

Witkin's research with the cognitive variable of field-dependence-independence (Witkin, 1964; Witkin, Dyk, Faterson, Goodenough, & Karp, 1962) serves as an example of a research program which can attribute much of its success to a systematic investigation of the situational variables associated with measures of field-dependence, prior to the search for correlates of these measures. Following Witkin's approach, it appears that the most profitable direction to take in studying emitted reinforcing behavior would be to investigate the parameters of some of the variables presumed to be important in the task.

The interaction of instructions with the sex of the listener in Exp. I indicates the prime importance of gaining an understanding of the instructional variable. Even though Exp. II showed no significant effects of instructions, the failure to replicate the interactional effect need not be interpreted as contradicting the differential effects of the instructions obtained in Exp. I. It must be remembered that the two sets of instructions differed only to the degree necessary to replace the term "rapport" with words more typical of everyday language; therefore, neither Exp. I nor II provides an accurate indication of what effect might be expected if the differences between the two sets of instructions were maximized. The logical prediction would seem to be that increasing the differences between the instructions would increase the probability of showing a strong instructional effect, possibly the interactional effect obtained in Exp. I.

One technique for investigating the effects of instructions would be to rewrite the instructions emphasizing the clinical aspects of rapport and defining more specifically how rapport can be communicated

to another person. Responding to these instructions could then be compared to that elicited by the standard "rapport" instructions and the "conversation" instructions. Another possibility for studying instructional effects would be to attempt to manipulate a subject's set for responding and then compare his responsiveness under various sets. For instance, an S could be tested under the "conversation" instructions, then be exposed to a training session in how to maintain rapport, and be subsequently retested with the "rapport" instructions. If this procedure were successful in demonstrating a change in responding as a result of the rapport training, not only would the effects of instructing an S to "maintain rapport" be better understood, but the potential of the listening task as an instrument for the assessment of this aspect of clinical training would be indicated.

Instructions are not the only situational factors which need to be investigated. The postulation of a higher drive level to explain the increased amount of responding in Exp. II suggests the possibility of studying the effects of experimentally-induced anxiety, or drive, on responding. Weiss (1966) dismisses the possibility that his listening task provides nothing more than a measure of an individual's typical output or tempo of responding by citing the low correlations obtained between number of responses emitted to the speaker and number of adjectives circled in describing the speaker from an adjective checklist composed of equal numbers of positive and negative adjectives. Since it has not been demonstrated by Weiss that circling adjectives represents a valid measure of sheer output, it is difficult to accept the low correlations as evidence that number of responses emitted is not related to output. The extent to which responsiveness can be demonstrated to be a function of drive level would provide more

convincing evidence of the output, or tempo, interpretation of responsiveness to the task.

Age is another variable which has not been systematically studied in terms of its effect on responding to the listening task. In a study by Dimitrovsky which is reported by Davitz (1964), the development of emotional sensitivity during childhood has investigated using a task which required children to identify the emotional meaning of recorded vocal expressions. A gradual but steadily increasing ability to identify the emotional meaning was shown as a function of chronological age from five to twelve years. Sex differences were also found in this task, with girls being slightly better than boys in identifying emotional meaning at all except the five-year level. Testing a similar age range using Weiss's task could be expected to show similar results and would contribute not only to an understanding of the variables influencing responding to the task, but would also provide information of relevance to a developmental approach to social reinforcement.

Instructional set, drive level, and listener age are presented as examples, rather than as exhaustive listing, of the kinds of variables that should be investigated. Not until the effects of such variables are understood and the stimulus or stimuli to which individuals are responding can be pinpointed should research proceed in the search for correlates of the listening task. Davitz's (1964) inability to find personality correlates of emotional sensitivity may have been partially the result of his selection of questionnaire types of personality inventories rather than the more readily-specifiable behavioral measures of personality characteristics, but his greater success in relating emotional

sensitivity to perceptual and cognitive variables is suggestive of the direction that may be taken in looking for additional correlates of Weiss's task.

Davitz's research program has been conducted primarily in terms of the ability to perceive and identify emotional meaning. Weiss's task, on the other hand, focuses on the responses emitted to emotional communication. If Weiss is able to gain the necessary control of the situational factors influencing the listening task, the possibilities for studying both the perceiving and responding aspects of emotional communication in a virtually limitless number of situations offer great promise for an eventual understanding of how cues gain socially reinforcing properties and how their reinforcing properties are communicated. The application of such an understanding to the study of interpersonal situations of all varieties, including psychotherapy, teaching, interviewing, etc., provides interesting possibilities for the future understanding of how such interactions function.



**APPENDIX A**  
**INSTRUCTIONS FOR LISTENING TO SPEAKERS**

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR LISTENING TO SPEAKERS

We are conducting a study of how people listen to one another. Actually, the study is very much concerned with what takes place in any speaker-listener relationship. Interviewing, for example, would be a special case of such a speaker-listener relationship.

You will be listening to a tape recording of two rather interesting young people. They are both students, one at a local high school and the other at Stanford University. The students, a young girl and a young man, will be describing their feelings about various phases of their school life, their social life, their family life, and so on. They meant to be quite sincere in their description of feelings; you may not always find yourself enthusiastic about what they say, but their speech is meant to be a sincere sample of their thoughts.

The instructions I am about to give you apply to both speakers.

Your task is to listen to the persons talk about themselves, and imagine if you will that they are talking directly to you. What they say about themselves is information they are providing to you alone. You obviously will not have the advantage of cues associated with facial expression, body motions, etc., but let's assume that the speakers are talking directly to you.

As a listener you should try to maintain rapport with the speakers. Try to make it easy for them to speak to you. You have been provided with a typescript of each recording. As you listen to the speakers, read along in the typescript, but try to pay more attention to the

spoken sounds. Each time you would naturally say or do something to convey your understanding of what is being said, or each time that you want to indicate in any way, including utterances, gestures, etc., that you are there, that you understand their point of view, you are to make a heavy black slash (thus /) with a pencil or pen at exactly the corresponding point in the typescript. Please try to give more attention to the speaker's voice rather than the printed material as you record your responses on the typescript. Be as natural and spontaneous with your responses as you usually are, only use the typescript as a recording device.

You will listen to the girl speaker first so turn to the typescript marked G-1 in the upper left hand corner. Please write your full name, sex, and today's date in the upper right hand corner of both the girl and the boy typescripts now.

Remember--role play the listener to the speaker, maintain rapport with the speakers by whatever means you characteristically use. Translate these indications of rapport or understanding into slash marks on the typescript at the exact point in the speech where you would have normally responded.

Are there any questions?

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR LISTENING TO SPEAKERS

We are conducting a study of how people listen to one another. Actually, the study is very much concerned with what takes place in any speaker-listener relationship. A discussion between you and your roommate would be an example of such a speaker-listener relationship.

You will be listening to a tape recording of two rather interesting young people. They are both students, one at a local high school and the other at Stanford University. The students, a young girl and a young man, will be describing their feelings about various phases of their school life, their social life, their family life, and so on. They meant to be quite sincere in their description of feelings; you may not always find yourself enthusiastic about what they say, but their speech is meant to be a sincere sample of their thoughts.

The instructions I am about to give you apply to both speakers.

Your task is to listen to the persons talk about themselves, and imagine if you will that they are talking directly to you. What they say about themselves is information they are providing to you alone. You obviously will not have the advantage of cues associated with facial expression, body motions, etc., but let's assume that the speakers are talking directly to you.

As a listener you should try to act just as you would in any everyday conversation. You have been provided with a typescript of each recording. As you listen to the speakers, read along in the typescript, but try to pay more attention to the spoken sounds. Each time you

would naturally say or do something in response to the speaker, including utterances, gestures, etc., you are to make a heavy black slash (thus /) with a pencil or pen at exactly the corresponding point in the typescript. Please try to give more attention to the speaker's voice rather than the printed material as you record your responses on the typescript. Be as natural and spontaneous with your responses as you usually are, only use the typescript as a recording device.

You will listen to the girl speaker first so turn to the typescript marked G-1 in the upper left hand corner. Please write your full name, sex, and today's date in the upper right hand corner of both the girl and the boy typescripts now.

Remember--role play the listener to the speaker, respond to the speakers by whatever means you characteristically use. Translate these responses into slash marks on the typescript at the exact point in the speech where you would have normally responded.

Are there any questions?

APPENDIX B  
TYPESCRIPTS OF GIRL AND BOY  
SPEAKER TAPES

G-1

Your teenage life can be one of the fun-nest times of your life; it can be one of the roughest..it'll happen to you that.you'll remember. everything.there'll be things that you'll forget...When you're in high school and you're a senior I think.that you just..realize that your life is beginning..and you're.ending....things that.well you're starting to grow up..you grasp things that are fun.you try not to act sophisticated.You'll be going to college the next year and things just sort of seem to slip away...When you're in high school I think everything stands out...There's.just things that you like..For one thing things I'm just crazy about. I just love football games. We had a game the other day against our rival school.and oh our school spirit was absolutely tremendous.Everybody was so positive that we were goin-na win.so we got to the game.and.the Paly.kids made their first touchdown. Everybody was sort of disappointed but.we got over it. The score bounced back and forth and back and forth we were just screaming and yelling and cheering our boys on. There was 2 minutes left in the game and we lost..Well everybody we we were just smashed.I mean. our emotions just took over. I started crying. It was sort of ridiculous but it was my last year in high school and I wanted to beat them so bad..So that night we were just goin-na.have fun and try and forget about it..I don't know. Football games effect affect me. I'm sort of an emotional person..That's why I think..the emotional things in life appeal to me more than others.

G-1

I love English, I love to write, I could sit there just for hours and just write and write..When the mood strikes me I can sit down and just write stanzas and stanzas of poetry. It's kind of funny and I really don't admit it to other people but I do.....and then oh I it's really fun because a bunch of us girls will get together and we can sit and we act ourselves..We don't have to put a show on for anybody else. It's sort of different when you're with boys. You have to sort of contain yourself act sophisticated or else depending on the person that you're with.....Our homecoming dance is coming up pretty soon..And...we're all going to get a bunch of kids together and just have a panic.....I suppose I'm sort of a romantic person..but one thing I love is rain...and..I don't know you know you talk about how you love the sun and you wanna get a good tan and everything but..when it pours I feel that..the earth is just being cleansed of everything and then after it stops raining you can go outside and there's a fresh smell that..kinda settles over everything and everything is sparkling and the flowers ah have drops of rain on it.....

There are some people at my school that I just absolutely cannot stand..There is just something about em and when I think about it I've figured it out..that they just act phony. You'll walk down the halls and you'll see..someone that you...you don't really care for one way or the other and they'll come up to you and go "Hi how are you? it's just been years since I've seen you. What have you been doing?".. And of course I, you'll respond I mean there's nothing more you can do. but then after you see them you think..well you'll hear rumors that they don't like you or else..I don't know maybe you just know they don't like



G-1

you and yet they'll come up to you and they go "Hi how are you?". I just, I don't know I just can't stand it..And then there are kids.. who..they'll seem, they'll just act older.I mean they'll they'll go out with guys who are in their 20's and everything and then they'll think it's big stuff at school..and.the thing that's really a crying shame is about it that.well here they are they're 17 years old or maybe they're 16 years old they'll never be this age again, they might as well have fun, I mean what's the point.here you're going to be a teen ager for.just a few years and then after that you're old, You're old much longer than you are young so why can't you enjoy it, Why can't you just live every year just for what it is?....I mean it just.it really bugs me      There's a friend of mine who.has has always been more sophisticated than others. I don't really think she's had fun...ah.I suppose she has but she started going out with other guys..and right now she's married..she has a child.she still goes to high school.she works.and she studies.plus she has to keep a home..and I mean it's ridiculous you see her at school and she hardly ever smiles.she doesn't have any friends...and.I don't know.you just you feel sorry for her and yet you feel lucky that you aren't like her..It's it's you get a very mixed up feeling.....Well.you know that's the way it is I suppose....

But now my parents are starting to talk about college.and oh.it's it's really scary.you know you start talking about.college with your friends and it sounds like really fun...you you know you're on your own and you're away from home and. you can really do much what you want..but then you actually start thinking about it and.you have one

G-1

more year at home.and you have one more year..to be dependent on somebody...and you think well you get to college...and I mean that's it..you're grown up. I suppose.I mean I haven't experienced it but I suppose that..not that too much changes but when you're still at home and when you still have parents to depend on.it's really frightening.And of course at high school they're really starting to push it.There's college.entrance ex exams you have to take and. all sorts of things like that.....

One thing I think about growing up.is that you acquire.a sort of a.....dictionary.or an encyclopedia of experiences that will help you later on in life..And my mother always tells me this...that.there are things in life that you'll experience that are bad..and yet when you look.upon them.maybe.months later or maybe even years later..it sort of helps you to grow up and be a person....and I think that when you're. 17 years old you start to realize that..you aren't just a crazy teenager any more but.more of a person.and I think that at least I do.I admire.a person who is a person who not just messes around and.wants to..goof off all the time but..I really admire.someone who you can sit down with and have an intellectual conversation without feeling funny.. something that you can talk about..or..just.act like a human being. right now.that's one of the most important things to me is being a human being.doing things that matter.to me not worrying about what anybody else is goin-na think, but.doing it for myself...It's sort of funny I mean.....being a person.is something you're going to be all your life.....

My sociology teacher oh is she ever a panic.she is the one

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person.the one teacher that I've ever had that treats the class as an equal.it's the only class practically all day that I look forward to going in. You sit down and she starts talking and it's though you're in a trance.you just sit there and you listen to every word that she says.She's young, I know..and maybe that has something to do with it. She's more on our level..but then I suppose that's not all that counts.

I had a.teacher last year...he was.a man...and a.he was my French teacher.He was very young he was only about 22..and when I first walked into his class he was so good looking..but then after a while.oh I we just didn't get along at all.I fought with him practically every single day he just made me so mad. One day.it was towards the end of the year.it was after lunch and I thought if I had to go to that class one more day I was going to scream.. so I did something that I've never done before I cut a class...and I didn't care if I got detention.I didn't care if my parents were notified All I know is that I did not want to go into that class, sit down and have to stare that teacher in the face...Well.I know now that it doesn't pay off.to.let your emotions get carried away with your class. As it ended up I got a D from him,.it's on my record, and every time I think of it I just sort of smolder..But, then that's a another experience.

It's just like my English teacher this year. I love English with a passion I really do but when I walk into that class and the minute that teacher opens his mouth I just sit there all rigid I just can't accept anything he says..It's ridiculous. We just

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read Oedipus the King and it's a great story, it really is. But we go just into detail and detail. We have been on that story for 2 weeks now discussing the literal level and the psychological level and all this sort of stuff and now I'm supposed to write a composition on it. I'm having a very tough time because I just resent the teacher.....

One thing that I think..really makes me..a fortunate person is my parents...I, I have some friends..one girl friend in particular. her home life is just terrible..Her parents don't get along, they fight all the time they have lots of children..and its just that they're a incompatible family..And I don't know if I'm just admitting it or what but my parents...I can talk to them..sometimes I know that I hate them..and I guess that everybody does but..when I think about it I have one more year left at home...and it sort of gets to me.. I mean here I have these wonderful parents..and I'll be leaving them pretty soon and going to college....I'm a girl..and I guess. it's natural that I'm closer to my mother than my father,.but my father is really a pal I can do things with him that..I think not every girl can do. This summer we spent a week together in Chicago and I've never had more fun in my life..

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I I..think I touched on this area a little before but..eh one thing I noticed is the eh..impersonality of the university I.eh I don't know exactly how to change this but..I think it should be changed somehow to enhance friendships eh more or less to create the atmosphere that existed in high school...eh..I eh.well I think the the living groups do help to combat this eh feeling of loneliness...eh... well.eh I lived in the dorm here and..and well this gave you an opportunity to meet a a lot of people right away...eh..I guess. I probably was very lucky because my.my first roommate was.easy to get along with and.well this is just a terrific help because I didn't really know that many people here and didn't know anyone very well..... eh.probably eh well actually one of the best things about dorm life is that.it does give you the chance to learn to get along with a lot of different kinds of people which is.at least I think is a is a very good experience...eh.....however I think that although this this getting along with and being forced to get along with a lot of different types of people is.does serve a very useful purpose...eh. I I don't think I I would want to be thrown into this...this kind of atmosphere this kind of..group year after year that is being forced to.to make new friendships year after year...and.....well I think this is one of the reasons why I wanted to get into a fraternity... eh...well in in the dorms you just don't get this this we-feeling.. of a close group the eh the way you do in fraternities...eh I think

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well there's a certain amount of identity that you that you achieve when in a fraternity...for example eh you want to improve the house and.and make it the best just because you you really have a a sense of possession that is this is your house and because it's your house it it should be the best.....eh..of course the smaller group in a fraternity eh.you get to...to feel closer...eh.....well yo-you just form close ties because these are your brothers...eh of course.if if you do get some duds in the house you're...well you're thrown together with them a lot too an-and eh....you have to to adjust yourself to to live this.intimately with with someone that.somehow you don't really like very well.....umm....I I think that some of the guys in the fraternity aren't.very considerate and they don't they don't do their share eh of the house.that is the responsibilities of the house..eh.. well they just goof off and they they don't do their share.....we have a couple of guys who never help clean up the place.eh...they they just never seem to be able to meet their responsibilities...and I find it I find it very difficult...eh.even embarrassing to criticize a brother..because.well we're all supposed to pull together but.... well some of these guys just do get you griped and eh.....they you know the kind they they don't do their share but they're they're the first ones there when you have a party or.an-and also the first ones to leave.when it's time to clean up.....eh.....thinking of fraternities uh...I think there's one thing definitely the fraternity did help me with an and. that's the opportunity for meeting girls especially...eh here where.the where the ratio of men to women.is so very well known...and eh I think this.this lopsided eh ratio really

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does frustrate people.....eh...well it's just very difficult to get dates and gee whiz, you you need to ask the girls out.so long in advance...eh I I feel that this is a real problem its...of course it's.probably not a problem to the girls because they.they just like it fine....eh you know that..well they're they're the queens here. there's no doubt about that....eh I.....I really get the feeling that that some of the girls here are are very mercenary they don't. they don't care about you...and..they all they care about is where you take them an things like this more of a.materialistic evaluation an-and this type of thing really gets me an...uh I I really get. upset when this thing occurs..eh I.I like a girl to to care for me as a person..and.at least in my opinion anyhow I...I find that girls like this are are hard to find around here.....then too eh..another type of girl I don't like is..well the kind that's.that's really 2-faced.eh....well for example like this girl I took out a couple of weeks ago..eh.she'd agree with anything anyone wanted would say or wanted to say or.eh she didn't seem to have.any convictions or any beliefs of her own...eh she really gave gave the sense of not even having a personality of her own because.she was just trying so hard to make a good impression on people...and..well.when I was with this girl eh...well eh I I might as well just say it was..it was it was a dull evening and I was pretty unhappy about the about the whole evening.....eh....of course not not all the dates have been like this I.I've had some.some pretty good times here with dating..... eh..well looking back on these I..I think. the girls with whom I had the best times were.were very bright very intelligent an-and I like

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this.very much..and they were people in in their own right...an-and I think this is very important.eh..they did have their own beliefs and their their own convictions...and they they weren't so willing to to change these beliefs and convictions just because someone else disagreed with them..eh in a sense they presented themselves as they were and it was up t- up to me and up to the others to.either accept them or reject them....but.at least they were people they they were someone.....eh.....of course intelligence isn't the only thing I guess because there...there are some girls here I'm sure that are very bright but...well they just they can't hold a real conversation but..eh.they'll talk your ear off with you know without really saying anything.....eh.....as far as eh dating or social activities are concerned there is.I think one...thing that I really like about.Stanford is that.well the town where I came from was. rather small and.eh there wasn't many activities going on eh..when we did have dates I guess we had about 2 choices we could go to.to the movies or to bowling and that was it...and this kind of monotonous routine really gets dull even though there is the opportunity to take girls out you sort of lose interest because there's just nothing to do.. but in this area of course this.this a.type of thing doesn't exist eh..well San Francisco's nearby and about anything you want to do you can do there.....eh.an I think there are even in the in the Bay area itself there are.just so many things that you can do an-and that are really worthwhile an this is another thing eh...there seems to be a definite oh I don't..I don't know what they'd call it eh.a cultural atmosphere here that you can go to plays and.theatre productions.and



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and in a sense...even though you're being entertained..you feel it's worthwhile you feel that...well that you're getting..to know the world around you and getting to..you're not just wasting your time .....eh.....but eh....I do think that..that dating an-and eh.especially eh.social life is a problem here..and there's not much you can do about it you just have to eh..to work it out on your own....and I guess this is true of eh..academic matters just as well as social that is.that you you're really forced to.to work out all your problems on your own.eh...I think now I'm referring to the counseling system that supposed to be so great here..eh.. the counseling

APPENDIX C  
QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN EXP. III

Name \_\_\_\_\_

How would you describe your task as a subject in this study? What did you think you were supposed to do while listening to the tape?

How did you decide when and where to respond to the speaker?

What do you think it means to "maintain rapport"? In what kinds of situations does one person need to maintain rapport with another person?

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## VITA

Jo Ellen Kirssin

Born in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, June 30, 1943. B.A. in Psychology, The College of William and Mary, June, 1965. Candidate for the Degree of Master of Arts in Psychology, The College of William and Mary, September, 1965 - June, 1967.